

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, NATO, SP, BE

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM - REACTIONS OF

-- SELECTED NATO ALLIES TO SPAIN-NATO

-- COOPERATION

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EUR - ARMITAGE, ACTING

1. IN PREPARATION FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR TREATY OF
FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH SPAIN, WE HAVE BEGUN TO
UNDERTAKE A SERIES OF STEPS DESIGNED TO BRING SPAIN
GRADUALLY CLOSER TO NATO. THIS MEMO REPORTS ALLIED
REACTIONS TO OUR PROPOSALS FOR ACTION IN THE COMING MONTHS.

2. AMBASSADOR STABLER DISCUSSED WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
OREJA OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL
COOPERATION BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND SPAIN OUTSIDE OF THE
FORMAL NATO CONTEXT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S REACTION WAS
GENERALLY FAVORABLE. WE ENVISION CONCRETE COOPERATIVE
MEASURES SUCH AS:

-- PROMPT ACTIVATION OF US-SPANISH TREATY MACHINERY
AS LOCUS FOR COORDINATION OF NATO-RELATED ACTIVITIES.

-- SPANISH LIAISON OFFICER AT HEADQUARTERS, US EUROPEAN
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COMMAND (STUTTGART).

-- EXCHANGES OF VISITORS, INCLUDING VISITS TO APPROPRIATE
NATO HEADQUARTERS AND TO ALLIED NATIONAL NATO-COMMITTED
UNITS.

-- SPANISH OBSERVERS AT NATIONAL MANEUVERS IN EUROPE.

-- CLOSER LINKAGE OF ASW EFFORTS OPERATING FROM SPAIN.

3. FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SPANISH, WE SOUNDED
OUT THOSE ALLIES GENERALLY DISPOSED TOWARD COOPERATION
WITH SPAIN. AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE AT NATO MET WITH
THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF FRANCE, THE FRG, ITALY
PORTUGAL AND BELGIUM TO DISCUSS OUR GENERAL APPROACH TO
SPANISH-NATO COOPERATION. INITIAL REACTIONS OF THE
FIVE ALLIES WERE CAUTIOUS ON SPANISH ACCESSION TO THE
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY BUT GENERALLY FAVORABLE TO OUR
GRADUALIST APPROACH.

4. THE FRENCH PERMREP REMINDED US THAT THE NORDIC
ALLIES AND THE NETHERLANDS WILL PROBABLY RESIST
IMMEDIATE STEPS TO BRING SPAIN CLOSER TO NATO. HE FELT
WE HAD CHOSEN A GOOD APPROACH IN SEEKING TO ENCOURAGE
COOPERATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE MOST SYMPATHETIC
ALLIES. NOTING THAT OUR LIST DID NOT INCLUDE JOINT
MILITARY EXERCISES, HE STATED THAT FRANCE CONDUCTS
REGULAR AIR AND GROUND MANEUVERS WITH SPAIN IN THE
BORDER AREA. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, HE SAID THE DESIREA-
BILITY FOR CLOSER SPANISH ASSOCIATION WITH NATO WAS A
"CONSTANT" IN FRENCH POLICY.

5. THE ITALIAN PERMREP CONCURED IN OUR PURPOSE BUT
NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE A LONG PROCESS AND WONDERED
WHETHER INITIATIVES BY ALLIES WOULD ENCOURAGE MODERATE
FORCES IN SPAIN OR SIMPLY REINFORCE THE RIGHT WING. HE
SUGGESTED THAT ITALY MIGHT POSSIBLY CONDUCT JOINT
MANEUVERS WITH SPAIN IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE.

6. THE FRG PERMREP TOOK OUR VIEWS AND OUR LIST UNDER
ADVISEMENT, BUT DID SAY THAT HIS COUNTRY HAD ALWAYS
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BEEN OPEN-MINDED ON THE SUBJECT OF SPAIN. HE FELT
THE GERMAN ELECTIONS WOULD DELAY PROGRESS HOWEVER, SINCE
SPAIN REMAINS A SENSITIVE TOPIC AMONG PORTIONS OF THE
ELECTORATE. WE UNDERSTAND FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY AND
WASHINGTON FRG EMBASSY SOURCES THAT BONN IS NOW PREPARING
INSTRUCTIONS TO ITS NATO DELEGATION WHICH WILL CONFIRM
THE FRG'S "GO SLOW" POLICY ON EARLY SPANISH NATO
ACCESSION, BUT WILL SUPPORT THE IDEA OF EXPANDED BI-

LATERAL ACTIVITIES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FRG WILL OFFER

TRAINING TO SPANISH OFFICERS AND MAINTAIN AN OPEN ATTITUDE ON OTHER TYPES OF BILATERAL COOPERATION. THUS SMALL STEPS LIKE THE RECENT VISIT OF SPANISH MILITARY ACADEMY OFFICERS WILL CONTINUE.

7. PORTUGAL'S REACTION WAS NON-COMMITTAL. NOTING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ONLY BEEN IN OFFICE FOR A FEW DAYS, THE PORTUGUESE PERMREP DID EXPRESS THE PERSONAL VIEW THAT A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS SPAIN ON THE PART OF WESTERN EUROPE WOULD ENCOURAGE MODERATE AND LIBERAL ELEMENTS.

8. THE BELGIAN REACTION WAS THE MOST ENCOURAGING. THE PERMREP NOTED THAT HIS FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD VISIT SPAIN IN AUGUST AND THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE WAS MOVING TOWARD THE VIEW THAT STRENGTHENING BELGIAN-SPANISH LINKS WOULD PROBABLY SERVE TO REINFORCE LIBERAL ELEMENTS WITHIN SPAIN. BELGIUM IS INCLINED TOWARD A GRADUAL PACE BUT WILL NOT WAIT FOR SOME PREREQUISITE DEGREE OF LIBERALIZATION BEFORE ENCOURAGING EUROPEAN COOPERATION WITH SPAIN. THE PERMREP SUGGESTED THAT A SPANISH DECLARATION OF INTENT TO ADHERE TO THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IN SOFTENING SCANDINAVIAN AND DUTCH ATTITUDES.

9. IN A SEPARATE REVIEW WITH EMBASSY BRUSSELS OF POLICY TOWARDS SPAIN, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY CHIEF OF NATO AFFAIRS NOTED THE EVOLUTION IN BELGIUM'S SPANISH POLICY AND STATED THAT THE GOB HAS NOTED WITH APPROVAL SPAIN'S EFFORTS TOWARDS LIBERALIZATION. HE THOUGHT THAT 1977 WAS THE EARLIEST TIME IN WHICH A GOVERNMENT

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BASED ON FREE ELECTIONS COULD COME INTO BEING AND THAT A SPAIN-NATO RAPPROCHEMENT WOULD BE BOTH USEFUL AND DESIRABLE. HE STATED THAT BELGIUM WAS NO LONGER AMONG THE GROUP OF THOSE OPPOSED TO COOPERATION (NORWAY, THE NETHERLANDS, AND DENMARK.) HOWEVER, BELGIUM WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO ARGUE THE SPANISH CASE WITH THE NETHERLANDS, AND BELIEVES THAT UNDUE HASTE IN STRENGTHENING NATO'S TIES WITH SPAIN MIGHT ONLY STRENGTHEN SECTIONS OF SPANISH OPINION WHICH ARE STILL IN OPPOSITION. THE US-SPANISH TREATY IS SEEN BY BELGIUM AS PUSHING WESTERN INFLUENCE AS FAR AS IS POSSIBLE FOR THE MOMENT.

10. THE US POSITION FAVORING EVENTUAL SPANISH ACCESSION TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY IS WELL KNOWN. KEY ALLIES

HAVE NOW BEEN APPRISED OF OUR VIEW OF HOW TO PROCEED
IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WHILE WE MAY CONSULT WITH OTHER

ALLIES, THE EMPHASIS IN OUR EFFORTS WILL NOW BE ON
SMALL BUT CONCRETE STEPS TO MAKE POLITICAL-MILITARY
COOPERATION WITH SPAIN A VISIBLE REALITY WHICH WILL
HELP EUROPEAN ATTITUDES CONTINUE TO CHANGE.

11. DRAFTED: EUR/RPM - D.KINNEY

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